

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年 報

平成29年度
(第21号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2017

Volume XXI

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2018・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2018

Newly Identified Khotanese Fragments in the “Bodhisattva Compendium” and Their Chinese, Pāli and Sanskrit Parallels*

FAN Jingjing

In 2002, Professor Prods Oktor Skjærvø published a complete catalogue of Khotanese manuscripts from Xinjiang in the British library and identified many texts. A few years later, Professor Yoshida Yutaka reported his new identifications of four manuscripts in this catalogue. Then in 2012, Dr. Huaiyu Chen announced his discovery of three more fragments. Thanks to their research, our knowledge about Khotanese Buddhist scriptures in the British library has been greatly enhanced.¹ But still, a number of fragments are left unidentified, among which are a group of fragments under the heading of “Bodhisattva Compendium”. This paper identifies two fragments in this compendium, including IOL Khot 154/4 (H. 142 NS 46) combined with IOL Khot 19/4 (Kha. i. 133. 3)² and IOL Khot 153/4 (No. vii 150/1, H. 150. vii. 1)³. The main part of the combined fragment of IOL Khot 154/4 with 19/4 corresponds to two passages in the *Benshijing* (**Itivṛttaka*) 本事經, and also has parallels in the Pāli *Itivuttaka* and *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. The second fragment IOL Khot 153/4 is a miscellany of passages adapted from verses of the *Bodhisambhārasāstra* kept in the Chinese translation *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 and passages from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, of which two Chinese translations *Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經 and *Yujiashi dilun* 瑜伽師地論 exist. Hopefully this paper will shed new light on the transformation of a text from a certain school of Nikāya Buddhism into a Mahāyāna scripture in Central Asia and help better understand the so called “Bodhisattva compendium”.

In 1903, Hoernle received a consignment he numbered H. 142. Although it was claimed to have been discovered somewhere in the Takla Makan Desert, Hoernle assumed that most manuscripts were probably from Khadaliq, digged out by a certain Mullah Khwajah before

* This research is supported by the National Social Science Fund of China (Grant number 12&ZD179). An earlier version of the first part was presented at the conference of “From Khotan to Dunhuang – Case Studies of History and Art along the Silk Road” held in Budapest from June 13 to 14, 2017. I would like to extend my gratitude to Prof. Duan Qing, Prof. Rong Xinjiang, Prof. Seishi Karashima and Prof. Noriyuki Kudo for their valuable comments and advice.

¹ Apart from the manuscripts kept in the British library, many more Khotanese fragments have been discovered and researched in China these years. And we also witness the publication of several important works, such as *Xinjiang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library of China: Khotanese Remains, Part I* (Shanghai: Zhongxi Book Company, 2015) and *A Scroll of the Khotanese Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā Nāma Dhāraṇī* (forthcoming in 2018), both by Prof. Duan Qing.

² Skjærvø 2002: 344.

³ Skjærvø 2002: 342–343.

Stein's visit there during his second expedition.⁴ Then in June 1907 he received another consignment 150, Packet vii of which probably came from Khotan.⁵ From 1906 onwards, Hoernle loaned out parts of his collection to collaborators in Europe to facilitate further study.⁶ In 1908, Leumann published a thorough survey of manuscripts from the Hoernle collection in his hand. Based on the paper, writing, line spacing and stereotypical beginning of the sections, he proposed the possibility that a group of fragments, including H. 142 NS 46, were remnants of one and the same manuscript which dealt with Bodhisattva. Furthermore, Leumann pointed out that the numbers 424 and 425 could be read on the two smallest pieces of this group; and consequently he assumed that the fragments in this group would possibly be the pages 420-430 of the presumed manuscript. He also supposed that two more fragments H apr. (H. 150. vii. 1) and H śīl. might have belonged to a manuscript illustrating Buddhist dogmatics since they talked about four *apramāṇas* and *śīlapāramitā*.⁷ In 1920, these fragments, including H. 142 NS 46 and H apr., were published with transcriptions and German translations, under the heading “vom Bodhisattva handelnden Prosa-Kompendium”. Leumann did assign the numbers from 419 to 426 and then 430 respectively to the fragments, so the signature H. 142 NS 46 became G [424].⁸ However, when I check the photographs of the two fragments supposed to have numbers on them on the website of IDP, I could not find the numbers 424 or 425. Then in 1963, Harold W. Bailey re-edited these fragments in his *Indo-Scythian Studies: Khotanese Texts V*.

Since then, “Bodhisattva Compendium” has continued to attract the attention of scholars. On the one hand, Maggi points out that “the superimposition of Late Khotanese forms upon the original Old Khotanese text by means of additional vowel marks and interlinear additions of akṣaras” is a special and intriguing linguistic feature.⁹ On the other hand, this compendium as a whole illustrates different aspects of the practice of a bodhisattva, a very important topic in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Martini claims that together with the *Zambasta*, “it is the only other extant Old Khotanese original composition” and that the identification of its sources is crucial to “date and locate early Khotanese Buddhism within the broader context of the textual and religious history of the Mahāyāna movement”.¹⁰ Gradually, other unidentified texts dealing with the duties of Bodhisattvas are also assigned to this category.¹¹ Perhaps due to the hybridity of these texts, the location of parallels becomes difficult and complicated. In this paper, I will single out two fragments and make a preliminary investigation, trying to locate their parallels in Chinese, Pāli and Sanskrit.

The Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 153/4 combined with IOL Khot 19/4

As discussed above, the original number of IOL Khot 154/4, H. 142 NS 46, indicates that it used to belong to the Hoernle collection, probably obtained from Khadaliq. After several decades since its first publication, Skjærvø affiliated this fragment with IOL Khot 19/4, the

⁴. Hoernle 1916: 2, 85.

⁵. Skjærvø 2002: xlii.

⁶. Sims -Williams 2009: 3.

⁷. Leumann 1908: 93–94.

⁸. Leumann 1920: 116–150.

⁹. Maggi 2009: 404.

¹⁰. Martini 2013: 28–29, note 42.

¹¹. The whole list can be seen on page 607 in Skjærvø's catalogue.

original number of which was Kha. i. 133. 3, published by Bailey in *KT V*. The signature Kha. i. indicates that it was found at the ruined shrine Khadaliq i on Aurel Stein's second expedition. Skjærvø published a revised version of this combined text in his catalogue, which is very helpful to locate its parallel. In the following, Skjærvø's transliteration will be cited first and then my English translation.

- r1 [x x] saddharmā paderāñā || tta [pātcu vā ba]lysūñavū[ysai tta āys]d[a.....]
 2 cirau padajśīndā u dātīṃgyu rrū[n]d[etu ya]nīndā tta kāma dva śśau cu biśśā ru[.....]
 3 dātu sājāte ttāte duva. || tta pātcu vā / balysūñavūysai tta āysda tce[rā]
 4 [x] m[e]ri u pīrā ttai perrā ke - ṣṭe se / mārā-pyātara ma pādāndā khi[ṣṭāndā]
 5 [] ṣ-ā ttā [du]va ṣi pūrā - ś[ś]au su / tu vāte mātaro dirysda u śśau [sutu vātā]
 6 [..... ha]rbīśśu haurā ni ṣe pūrā ttā pu [-]
 7 [.....-]īrā nyatu yanā ṣṣaddo vīrā [.....]
 8 [.....-]ā. ha x [.....]
- v1 [..... tta pā]tcu v[ā balysūñavūysai tta āysda tcerā...]
 2 [.....] mara ysamaśśaṃdya duva vas[va]
 3 [.....ha]rbāśśā uysnaura ārsta haṃbrīh [-]
 4 [x x] cu tt[ā]t[e] duva vasvata hira ci / ysamaśśaṃdau dijsāre. kṣārmā [.....]
 5 [x] o hvāraka¹² o pīsai o - pīsā / samā nyāpāte. tta ttina ni [.....]
 6 vāsa. tta tte hira kiḍāna balysūñā / vūysai ttāte duva hira vasva [.....]
 7 sūjāñā. ku ne ysamaśśaṃdai x [x yā]dā hāmāte 4 tta pātcu vā [balysūñavūysai tta āysda tcerā]
 8 [x -]otta u hamarraṣṭu tti pa[- x x x] hamatā x -ī [.....]
- r1 ... good dharma should be maintained. || Thus [next] a bodhisattva [should notice that.....]
 2 They light a lamp and make dharma light. So which two? The first which all [.....]
 3 He learns dharma. These two. || Thus next / a bodhisattva should notice that [.....]
 4 He should regard his mother and father like that: mother and father rear and feed me.
 5 These two. This son on one shoulder / carries his mother and on one [shoulder]
 6 [.....a]ll offerings not this son them [.....]
 7 [.....] will surely have faith towards [.....]
 8
- v1 [.....Thus ne]xt a [bodhisattva should notice that]
 2 [.....] here in this world two pu[re]
 3 [.....a]ll living beings get mixed up. [.....]
 4 these two pure things when / they hold the world. Shame [.....]
 5 or sister or teacher or quasi teacher / is made known. Thus by this not [.....]
 6 Thus by reason of this a bodhisattva's these two pure things [.....]
 7 should be purified. Where not for the world is to d[o.....] 4. Thus next [a bodhisattva should notice that]
 8 and always ... when is

¹² Skjærvø's transliteration here is "hvarāka", perhaps it is a typo. According to the photograph on the website of IDP and Bailey's transliteration, it should be "hvāraka".

Judging from the stereotypical sentence constructions, this fragment consists of 5 sections, and accordingly 5 topics are announced. Every section begins with “tta pātcu vā balysūñāvūsai tta āysda tcerā (Thus next a bodhisattva should notice that)”, introducing a new topic. The first line on the recto side closes a topic of a preceding section, and then moves on to a new one. According to Leumann, IOL Khot 154/4 (G[424]) follows immediately IOL Khot 149/1 (G[423]). Unfortunately, due to the poor condition of the ending part of IOL Khot 149/1, the content of this topic can hardly be known. As for the next topic, the presentation is rather brief, just covering about two lines (r1–3). Except for the stereotypical constructions -- including the beginning of the topic, the question “tta kāma dva śsau (which two? the first)”, and the closing repetition “ttāte duva (these two)” – only three phrases are left. This situation makes the identification of this section also difficult.

In contrast, the third section about parents’ loving-kindness towards children and children’s filial piety in return covers at least five lines (r3–7), while the fourth section about two pure things which keep the world in order and free from chaos (or promiscuity) falls into seven lines (v1–7). The details can be very helpful for the identification. It seems that these two sections correspond with two passages in the *Benshijing* 本事經 (T. 17, no. 765), and the Pāli parallels can also be found in the *Itivuttaka* and *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*.

Parallel of Section 3 in the *Benshijing* 本事經 (682c9f.):

芻芻當知！世有二種補特伽羅，恩深難報。云何為二？所謂父、母。假使有人一肩荷父、一肩擔母，盡其壽量曾無暫捨，供給衣食、病緣醫藥、種種所須，猶未能報父母深恩。所以者何？父母於子，恩極深重。所謂產生，慈心乳哺，洗拭將養令其長大，供給種種資身眾具，教示世間所有儀式，心常欲令離苦得樂，曾無暫捨，如影隨形。父母於子，既有如是所說深恩，當云何報？若彼父母於佛、法、僧無清淨信，其子方便示現、勸導、讚勵、慶慰，令生淨信 (‘‘A bhikṣu should know that there are two kinds of individuals whose loving-kindness is difficult to repay. Which two? They are father and mother. If a son should carry his father on one shoulder, and carry his mother on another during his whole life, and supplies all kinds of things such as clothing, food, medicine and other necessities, he could not repay his parents enough. Why? A child is deeply indebted to his father and mother. They give birth to the child; nurture him with compassion; bathe, rub and look after him; bring him up; provide him all kinds of necessities; teach him all rituals in the world; always wish for his happiness instead of suffering; accompany him all the time like his shadow. How can a child repay his parents since they show so much affection to him? If his parents have no faith in the Buddha, the dharma and the saṅgha, the son should persuade and urge them by all means, making them have faith.’’) ¹³

Parallel of Section 3 in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (AN I 61, 29-62, 11):

Dvinnāhaṃ bhikkhave na suppatikāraṃ vadāmi. Katamesaṃ dvinnāhaṃ? Mātuc ca pituc ca. Ekena bhikkhave amsena mātaraṃ parihareyya ekena amsena pitaraṃ parihareyya vassasatāyuko vassasatajīvī. So ca tesaṃ ucchādāna-parimaddana-nahāpana-sambāhanena <patijaggeyya> te pi tatth’ eva muttakarīsaṃ cajeyyuṃ na tv eva bhikkhave mātāpitunnaṃ kataṃ vā hoti patikataṃ vā. Imissā ca bhikkhave mahāpaṭhaviyā pahūta-sattaratanāya mātāpitaro issarādhīpacce rajje patiṭṭhāpeyya na tv eva bhikkhave mātāpitunnaṃ kataṃ vā hoti patikataṃ vā. Taṃ kissa hetu? Bahukārā bhikkhave mātāpitaro puttānaṃ āpādakā posakā imassa lokassa dassetāro. Yo ca kho*

¹³. The stock phrase “a son carries his mother on one shoulder and his father on another” has many similar expressions scattered in a number of Buddhist scriptures, such as the *Vinayavastu*, the *Karmavibhaṅga*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadānaśataka*, etc. Prof. Noriyuki Kudo kindly reminds me of two articles by Prof. Jonathan Silk (2007 & 2008), which discuss its variant forms.

bhikkhave mātāpitāro assaddhe saddhā-sampadāya samādapeti ... (English translation by Bhikkhu Bodhi: “Bhikkhus, there are two persons that cannot easily be repaid. What two? One’s mother and father. Even if one should carry about one’s mother on one shoulder and one’s father on the other, and [while doing so] should have a life span of a hundred years, live for a hundred years; and if one should attend to them by anointing them with balms, by massaging, bathing, and rubbing their limbs, and they even void their urine and excrement there, one still would not have done enough for one’s parents, nor would one have repaid them. Even if one were to establish one’s parents as the supreme lords and rulers over this great earth abounding in the seven treasures, one still would not have done enough for one’s parents, nor would one have repaid them. For what reason? Parents are of great help to their children; they bring them up, feed them, and show them the world. But, bhikkhus, if, when one’s parents lack faith, one encourages, settles, and establishes them in faith; ...”) ¹⁴

Parallel of Section 4 in the *Benshijing* 本事經 (680a29f):

苾芻當知！略有二種白淨善法，能護世間。云何為二？謂慚與愧。若無此二白淨善法，世間有情皆成穢雜，猶如牛羊、鷄猪、狗等，不識父母、兄弟、姊妹，不識軌範、親教、導師、似導師等。由有此二白淨善法，世間有情離諸穢雜，非如牛羊、鷄猪、狗等，了知父母、兄弟、姊妹，了知軌範、親教、導師、似導師等。是故汝等應如是學：我當云何成就如是二種最勝第一慚愧白淨善法？汝等苾芻，應如是學（“A bhikṣu should know that there are generally two kinds of white and pure good dharmas¹⁵ which could protect the world. Which two? They are shame and fear of wrongdoing. If these two white and pure good dharmas do not exist, the living beings in the world will get mixed up. Just like cows, goats, chickens, pigs and dogs, people will not be able to recognize father or mother, brother or sister, or rule, or preceptor, or teacher, or quasi-teacher, and so on. Because of these two white and pure good dharmas, all living beings in the world will not get mixed up. Unlike cows, goats, chickens, pigs and dogs, they are able to recognize father and mother, brother and sister, and rule, and preceptor, and teacher, and quasi-teacher, and so on. Therefore you should learn how to achieve these two best kinds of white and pure dharmas. You bhikṣus should learn in this way.”)

Parallel of Section 4 in the *Itivuttaka* (Iti 36, 5-13) and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (AN I 51, 19-28):

*Dve 'me bhikkhave sukkā dhammā lokam pāṇenti. Katame dve? Hiri ca ottappañ ca. Ime ce (AN. kho) bhikkhave dve sukkā dhammā lokam na pāṇeyyūṃ, na-y-idha paññāyetha mātā ti vā mātucchā ti vā mātulānī ti vā ācariyabhariyā ti vā garūṇaṃ dārā ti vā, sambhedam loka agamissa (AN. āgamissati) yathā ajelakā (AN. ajelakā) kukkuṭasūkarā sonasiṅgālā (AN. soṇasiṅgālā). Yasmā ca kho bhikkhave ime dve sukkā dhammā lokam pāṇenti, tasmā paññāyati mātā ti vā mātucchā ti vā mātulānī ti vā ācariyabhariyā ti vā garūṇaṃ dārā ti vā ti.*¹⁶ (English

¹⁴ Bodhi 2012: 153. The Chinese translation of this passage in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* can be found in the *Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經 (T. 2, no. 125, 601a11f): 爾時，世尊告諸比丘：教二人作善不可得報恩。云何為二？所謂父母也。若復比丘，有人以父著左肩上，以母著右肩上，至千萬歲，衣被、飯食、床蓐臥具、病瘦醫藥，即於肩上放於尿溺，猶不能得報恩。比丘當知，父母恩重，抱之育之，隨時將護，不失時節，得見日月。以此方便，知此恩難報。是故諸比丘，當供養父母，常當孝順，不失時節。如是，諸比丘！當作是學。

¹⁵ Here *dharma* corresponds to the Chinese word 法, the Sanskrit original of which should be *dharma*. The Khotanese text has “hira” in this place, which might also be traced back to the Sanskrit *dharma*. Skjærvø (2012: 128, first print in 1993) points out an interesting phenomenon in the Khotanese translation. When *dharma* means law in the context, the Khotanese translator would choose “dāta” to render it. But when *dharma* means “element”, then the Khotanese term “hāra” would be chosen for the translation.

¹⁶ The same passage appears in both the *Itivuttaka* and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, while the Chinese translations of this passage appear also in the *Zengyi ahanjing* and the *Za ahanjing* (雜阿含經, T. 2, no. 99). The first translation is as follows (587b7f): 有二妙法擁護世間。云何為二法？所謂有慚、有愧也。諸比丘！若無此二法，世間則不別有父、有母、有兄、有弟、有妻子、知識、尊長、大小，便當與猪、雞、狗、牛、羊六畜之類而同一等。以其世間有此二法擁護世間，則別有父母、兄弟、妻子、尊長、大小，亦不與六畜

translation by John Ireland: “Bhikkhus, these two bright principles protect the world. What are the two? Shame and fear of wrongdoing. If, bhikkhus, these two bright principles did not protect the world, there would not be discerned respect for mother or maternal aunt or maternal uncle’s wife or a teacher’s wife or the wives of other honored persons, and the world would have fallen into promiscuity, as with goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, dogs, and jackals. But as these two bright principles protect the world, there is discerned respect for mother ... and the wives of other honored persons.”¹⁷⁾

Then the fifth section is very defective. Only two words are preserved apart from the stereotypical beginning, hardly allow identification of this section.

The chief translator of the *Benshijing* 本事經 is Xuanzang 玄奘, while the monks Jingmai 靖邁 and Shenfang 神昉 help writing his translation down during the process. According to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T. 55, no. 2154), the translation job began on September 10th in the first year of the Yonghui 永徽 period (650 CE) at the Daci’en temple (大慈恩寺) and was finished on November 8th, taking about two months. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit original text is perhaps lost. We only have the Pāli *Itivuttaka* at disposal, a collection of 112 short discourses included in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*. From the title “Benshijing 本事經”, we could infer that the Sanskrit original might have been “*Itivṛttaka* (thus happened)”, but von Hinüber regards it to be a false Sanskritisation or Hyper-Sanskritism of “*itivuttaka*”. The *Itivuttaka* gets its name from the stereotypical beginning sentence of each discourse “*vuttaṃ hetuṃ bhagavatā vuttaṃ arahatā ti me sutaṃ* (I heard that this was said by the Buddha, said by the arhat)”. So the correct Sanskritisation should be “*ityuktaka* (thus said)”.¹⁸ These sayings are arranged according to the number of items talked about, from one to four in Pāli and from one to three in Xuanzang’s translation. To be specific, the paragraphs in our combined fragment belong to the groups of two 二法品.

Compared to their Chinese and Pāli parallels, perhaps we could say that the Khotanese Section 3 and Section 4 bear a closer resemblance to the Chinese versions, despite of differences in some details and the order of paragraphs and sentences. Or the recto side marked by Skjærvø might be the verso side and *vice versa*, since the Chinese parallel of Section 3 at present follows that of Section 4 in the *Benshijing* 本事經, not immediately but with some paragraphs in between. Nevertheless, due to the fragmentary condition of the manuscript, it is hard to tell. In content, the Khotanese and Chinese texts have much in common. Although the beginning sentence in Chinese “a bhikṣu should know that” is changed into “a bodhisattva should notice that” in Khotanese, it still means admonition and serves as a transition to a new topic, helping organizing the text. This recurring sentence is anyhow absent in the Pāli version. We may further guess that the change from “bhikṣu” to “bodhisattva” actually reflects a process of adaptation of Buddhist scriptures and a tendency of transmission from a certain school of Nikāya Buddhism to Mahāyāna. And this transmission might have taken place in ancient Khotan, or some other places in Central Asia such as Kashmir and then brought to Khotan. In section 4, we encounter several words denoting

共同。是故，諸比丘！當習有慚、有愧。如是，諸比丘！當作是學。And the second translation is (340c23f): 有二淨法，能護世間。何等為二？所謂慚、愧。假使世間無此二淨法者，世間亦不知有父母、兄弟、姊妹、妻子、宗親、師長尊卑之序，顛倒渾亂，如畜生趣。以有二種淨法，所謂慚、愧，是故世間知有父母，乃至師長尊卑之序，則不渾亂，如畜生趣。

^{17.} Ireland 1997: 138.

^{18.} von Hinüber 1994: 133–134.

different people: “o hvāraka o pīsai o - pīsā / samā” (line v5). Bailey’s translation is “or colourers or painter or (pupils?) of painters”¹⁹. With the help of the Chinese parallels, the correct translation should probably be “or sister, or teacher, or quasi-teacher”. And again, here we have a different expression in Pāli “mātulānī ti vā ācariyabhariyā ti vā garūṇaṃ dārā ti vā”, which means “maternal uncle’s wife or a teacher’s wife or the wives of other honored persons”. The Pāli version lists only female elders who deserve respect, while the Khotanese text and all Chinese parallels also mention respectable male elders.

The Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 153/4

The original number of IOL Khot 153/4 is No. vii by Hoernle and H apr. by Leumann. The former indicates that it was Fragment 1 in Packet 7, Consignment 150 of Hoernle’s collection; while the latter denotes its content, which was four *apramāṇas*. Skjærvø’s transliteration and my English translation are as follows.

r1 pare]hāṇu tcamna gyastvā tsīndā. u cu rru vātcu tti ci r^āo ju ye tcaramu hā šai puṇau ggīstu yīndā tt^ānvī vā

2 / marī mū-sysamth^{vi}ya śśir^āatātā himāte. u ce vātcu tti uysnaura ce vāte ju balysūṇavūysai

3 / ṇi šti. tta tta vitī vātcu maitra karuṇa muditta tcera u karī hāde uysnaura vⁱāte u_{pe}vikṣa ni tce

4 [ra] uysnaurā vāte ttrāmu hīśśiḍaustīnau aysmū yande khu pīru śśau ysātu śśiratarāṇu pūrā vā

5 [te] vⁱāte odi āstai mījsāya buru panu uysnaurā vⁱāte mulśdu upevāte. u cu balysānu bau

6 [dhisatvānu] buljse śśirete šahāni śir^eatetā byāta yande u aysmū hā vasūjāte šai vātcu muditta sīravātā haṃge’.

7 / u_{pe}vikṣa khvai vā ša’^a himāte ku ni vātcu uysnaura vⁱāte u_{pe}vikṣa tcera štā. ttina ku satvau u_{pe}vikṣāte tta cu rru ba

8 / vā hāde u_{pe}vikṣe tceri cu natu suṣumuḍu šva’ j^eū’ dātu balysā x ne butte u nai hā bvāmata hautt^o

v1 / se ttuto aysu ne bu^eve ttutu balysa bu^āvāre. avaśā ša mamā h[o]va himāte kvī vā aysu bustā hi

2 [me ... balysū]ṇavūysai paḍā u_{pe}vikṣa arⁿandīśśāmata haṃge’. tta pātcu vā balysūṇavūysai ša u_{pe}vikṣa kvī hāvā buljsā sta

3 [vā aramḍī]śāte. tta pātcuī šā u_{pe}vikṣa haṃge’. u ku vātcu ttu butte pe ttattīka ju uysnaurāṇu śīru yuḍā yanā^āmā ne śūka gā

4 / je ne nyaskye u ne dukhi. tta pātcu šā’^a balysūṇavūysai aram^{nam}diśśāmata u_{pe}vikṣa haṃge’. tta pātcu vā

5 / uysnaurāṇu śir^eatete yanāma kiḍe duṣkara. tta kāma drrai padya cu ttānu uysnaurāṇu haṃjsⁱa

6 [šde ysam]tha kuśalamūla hataḍarāmjs^yāya ni īndā šā kiḍe (du)ṣkaru ka ye tt^ānu śīru yuḍu īndā. ttina cu atā

7 uysnau]rāṇu se’ paḍā. kye vātcā anyattīrthya o vā paḍā añattirthiya vāta o^{au} nu vātcu ttīrthānu duiṣṭā. tta

8 / x śśīru gu^yuḍu gī^yīndi tta šā vātcu šā’ta^a balysūṇavūysai kiḍe duṣkara :|| :||

r1 ... should be restrained. By means of this they go to the gods. And what also next, and then when someone ultimately even helps with merits, of these he

2 ... will obtain goodness in this birth. And next those living beings towards whom a

¹⁹. Bailey did not join fragment Kha. i. 133 to fragment H. 142 NS 46, so he thought the last word could be “pīsā<nu>.” *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 241, 506.

bodhisattva...

3 ... is. Thus next towards them kindness, compassion, joy should be practiced. However, renunciation towards the living beings should not be practiced by him at all.

4 ... towards the living being he practices the kind mind, just as a father towards his only born good son.

5 ... as far as the marrow of the bone, towards every being he produces compassion.

6 When he well remembers the qualities, goodness and virtues of buddhas and bodhisattvas, and purifies his mind, then this is his joy and total content.

7 ... as his renunciation exists, then where should this renunciation towards the living beings not be practiced? Because where he renounces the living beings, thus then...

8 ... however, renunciation should be practiced. When he does not understand the profound and subtle preaching and dharma of the Buddhas, and has not the ability to know.

v1 ... that I do not know this, the Buddhas know this. Undoubtedly I will have the ability, on the basis of which I will become awakened.

2 ... bodhisattva's first renunciation and total indifference. Thus next for a bodhisattva this is renunciation when benefit, fame and praise are not considered by him.

3 Thus then this is his total renunciation. And then when he considers that here for the living beings I would do good things, not alone...

4 ... no abuse and no suffering. Thus then this is a bodhisattva's indifference and total renunciation. Thus next...

5 ... very difficult for us to do good for the living beings. So which three kinds? When for those living beings he intends...

6 ...in a former birth good roots do not exist. It is very difficult for anyone to do good for them. Because when very...

7 ... for the living beings this is the first. Next those heretics, or those who used to be heretics at first, or those who have heretical beliefs. Thus...

8 ... for them to do good. Thus then this is the second very difficult thing for a bodhisattva.

Based on the content, this fragment could be divided into two parts. The first part talks about four *apramāṇas*, followed by the second part about three kinds of difficulties in a bodhisattva's doing good for the living beings. These two parts seem to be only loosely connected with each other. Therefore I would like to suggest that the fragment IOL Khot 153/4 might be a miscellany of passages from different texts.

Due to the fragmentary condition of the beginning two lines, I am not sure whether lines r1 to 2 belong to a preceding part or they are the introducing lines of the present *apramāṇa* part. Then line 3 is a summary of the first part: a bodhisattva should practice kindness, compassion and joy, but not renunciation towards the living beings. After this general statement, four *apramāṇas* are illustrated in detail respectively. And these discourses correspond closely with the verses in the *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 (T. 32, no. 1660).

Parallel of the discourse about *maitra* and *karuṇa* (525c26f.):

大悲徹骨髓，為諸眾生依，如父於一子，慈則遍一切 (“His compassion reaches as far as the marrow of the bone, and he is the refuge of the living beings, just as a father towards his only son. His kindness extends to every being.”)

Although we do not have the Sanskrit original of the *Bodhisambhāraśāstra*, which might be lost, there is a similar expression in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. It reads “*bodhisatvasya*

satveṣu prema majjagatam mahat / yathaiputrake tasmāt sadā hitakaram matam // Msa. 13.20//²⁰ (“A bodhisattva has great love penetrating into the marrow of the bone towards the living beings, just as towards his only son. Therefore their welfare is always in his mind.”)²¹

Parallel of the discourse about *mudita* (526a13f.):

若念佛功德，及聞佛神變，愛喜而受淨，此名為大喜(“If when he remembers buddhas’ virtues and listens to buddhas’ miracles, he rejoices and purifies his mind, then it is named great joy.”)

As for *upekṣā*, the situation is a little bit complicated. Under some circumstances, renunciation should not be practiced, while under others it should be. In the first place, a bodhisattva should never renounce the living beings (526b11f.): 菩薩於眾生，不應得捨棄，當隨力所堪，一切時攝受 (“Towards the living beings, a bodhisattva should never practice renunciation. Instead he should always protect and teach them according to their ability and disposition.”) Then in the Chinese translation six types of living beings are enumerated, accordingly a bodhisattva should lead them to Mahāyāna, Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, or assign meritorious tasks to them, or attract them through worldly benefits, or at least have kindness and compassion towards them.²² In the corresponding place, the Khotanese fragment probably mentions two kinds of people. The first does not have the ability to understand dharma, while the second believes that he will become awakened in the future. The parallel of the description of the first kind of people might be “以彼少力故，不堪大乘化 (526c7, due to his limited ability, he could not be converted into Mahāyāna)”. In the second place, renunciation should be practiced when it comes to worldly advantages (527b5f.): 利名讚樂等，四處皆不著，反上亦無礙，此等名為捨 (“As for benefit, fame, praise and pleasure, he is not attached to these four. Besides, he is not bothered in their opposites either. This is named renunciation.”)

The second part of the fragment IOL Khot 153/4 starts a new topic. Three kinds of difficulties in doing good for the living beings are mentioned in the question in line v5, but only two kinds are preserved in the fragment. The third one is perhaps on the next page, if there is any. The corresponding passage in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* reads as follows:

tatra katamā bodhisattvānām duṣkarā arthacaryā / sā trividhā draṣṭavyā / pūrvakuśalamūlahetv acariteṣu sattveṣv arthacaryā bodhisattvānām duṣkarā / tathā hi te duḥkhasamādāpyā bhavanti kuśale / mahatyām bhogasampadi vartamāneṣu sattveṣu tadadhyavasānagateṣv arthacaryā

²⁰ Lévi 1907: 88. Prof. Seishi Karashima reminds me of another similar paragraph in the *Akṣayamatisūtra* as quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall 1902: 287): “*syād yathāpi nāma śreṣṭhino vā grhapater vāikaputrake guṇavati majjagatam prema | evam eva mahākaruṇāpratilabdhasya bodhisattvasya sarvasatveṣu majjagatam premēti //*” Jens Braarvig’s translation of this paragraph is as follows (Braarvig 1993: 354): “As a rich man or householder has heartfelt love for his only virtuous son, just so the bodhisattva with great compassion has heartfelt love for all beings”. The Chinese translation can be found in the *Dafangdeng dajijing* 大方等大集經 (T. 13, no. 397, 200a23f.): 如大長者唯有一子慈愛情重，菩薩大悲亦復如是，於諸眾生愛之若子。

²¹ The Chinese translation of this passage in the *Dacheng zhuangyanjinglun* 大乘莊嚴經論 (T. 31, no. 1604, 623a11f.) reads as follows: 菩薩念眾生，愛之徹骨髓，恒時欲利益，猶如一子故。

²² The Chinese translation in the *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 reads as follows (526b17f.): 菩薩從初時，應隨堪能力，方便化眾生，令入於大乘。化恒沙眾生，令得羅漢果，化一入大乘，此福德為上。教以聲聞乘，及獨覺乘者，以彼少力故，不堪大乘化。聲聞獨覺乘，及以大乘中，不堪受化者，應置於福處。若人不堪受，天及解脫化，便以現世利，如力應當攝。菩薩於眾生，無緣能教化，當起大慈悲，不應便棄捨。

bodhisattvānām duṣkarā / tathā hi te mahati pramādapade pramādashāne vartante / ito bāhyakeṣu tīrthikeṣu pūrvam [ca] tīrthikadrṣṭicariteṣu sattveṣv arthamcaryā bodhisattvānām duṣkarā / tathā hi te svayaṃ sammūḍhās cābhiniṣṭās cāsmiṃ dharmavinaye /²³ (“Here which are the bodhisattvas’ deeds for the benefit of others difficult to accomplish? They should be known as of three kinds. In respect of the living beings who did not practice the cause of former good roots, it is difficult for bodhisattvas to do good for them. Because they are difficult to be persuaded to be good. In respect of the living beings who are indulged in and attached to great pleasure and luxury, it is difficult for bodhisattvas to do good for them. Because they immerse themselves in intoxication and insanity. Then in respect of the living beings who are heretics, or former-heretics, or practicing heretical beliefs, it is difficult for bodhisattvas to do good for them. Because they are foolish and stubborn in the Buddha’s dharma and vinaya.”)

There are two Chinese translations of this passage, one is from the *Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經 (T. 30, no. 1581) by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, and the other is from the *Yujiashi dilun* 瑜伽師地論 (T. 30, no. 1579) by Xuanzang 玄奘. Dharmakṣema’s translation reads as follows (924b2f.):

云何菩薩難行利？略說三種。若眾生本來不修善因，而能行利，是名第一難行利。謂苦勸化故。若本修善根、得大財寶、深起貪著，而能行利，是名第二難行利。謂彼大放逸處故。外道異學、著本邪見，而能行利，是名第三難行利。謂彼愚癡，極違正法故。

Xuanzang’s translation is (531a11f.):

云何菩薩難行利行？當知此行略有三種。若諸菩薩，於先未行勝善根因諸有情所，能行利行，是名第一難行利行。何以故？彼諸有情難勸導故。若諸菩薩，於有善因現前、執著廣大財位、眾具圓滿諸有情所，能行利行，是名第二難行利行。何以故？彼於廣大極放逸迹、極放逸處耽著轉故。若諸菩薩，於諸外道、著本異道、邪見邪行諸有情所，能行利行，是名第三難行利行。何以故？彼於自宗愚癡執故，於正法律憎背執故。

The two Chinese translations correspond closely with the Sanskrit original. The only difference lies in the additive closing remark after each kind of difficulties. That is, ... “this is the first difficulty” ... “this is the second difficulty”... and “this is the third difficulty”. In this respect, the Khotanese text resembles the Chinese translations. But as for the order of the three kinds of difficulties, the Chinese translations conform to the Sanskrit original, while the Khotanese text takes the third difficulty as the second. And unfortunately, the third difficulty in Khotanese might be lost.

Conclusion

Martini notices the dearth of early Āgamas in Khotan and the Middle Period materials’ being recast within a Mahāyāna frame of reference.²⁴ Now we can see how the passages from a Nikāya Buddhist scripture were flexibly selected and adapted in ancient Central Asia. Simply changing the term from “bhikṣu” to “bodhisattva” in the stereotypical opening sentence could make a text assume a Mahāyāna outfit.

The Sanskrit original of the *Bodhisambhāraśāstra* by Nāgārjuna seems to be long lost.

²³. Dutt 1966: 152.

²⁴. Martini 2013: 16–17.

The verses are preserved in the Chinese translation of Vaṣitva's *Commentary on the Bodhisambhāraśāstra* by Dharmagupta 達摩笈多. And some verses are also included in other popular Buddhist scriptures, such as *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and *Akṣayamatīsūtra*. Now we have the Khotanese translation of the *apramāṇa* part of this important treatise. Through the translator's joining it to passages from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, we could infer that these two works are closely related to each other in the eyes of ancient Khotanese Buddhists. Perhaps this composite work consisting of passages from different texts serves as a handbook or guidebook for a bodhisattva's religious practice in ancient Khotan.

Bibliography

- AN = *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*, Part I, ed. R. Morris, rev. A. K. Warder, London 1961 (PTS).
- Bailey, Harold 1963. *Indo-Scythian Studies; Being Khotanese Texts, Vol. V*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- _____. 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Bendall, C. 1902. ed. *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, St. Pétersbourg: Académie impériale des sciences.
- Benshijing* 本事經 (**Itivṛttaka*), in: *Taishō* vol. 17, no. 765, pp. 662–699.
- Bodhi 2012. *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Āṅguttara Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom publications.
- Braarvig, Jens 1993. *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra, Volume II. The Tradition of Imperishability in Buddhist Thought*. Oslo: Solum Forlag.
- Dafangdeng dajijing* 大方等大集經 (**Mahāvaiṣṭhī mahāsaṃnipāta sūtra*), in: *Taishō* vol. 13, no. 397, pp. 1–400.
- Dutt, N. 1966. ed. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- von Hinüber, Oskar 1994. “Die Neun Āṅgas: Ein früher Versuch zur Einteilung buddhistischer Texte”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* Vol. 38, 121–135.
- Hoernle, Rudolf 1916. *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ireland, John 1997. tr. *The Udāna and the Itivuttaka: Two Classics from the Pali Canon*. Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, repr. in 2007.
- Iti = *Itivuttaka*, ed. E. Windisch, London 1889 (PTS).
- Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (*Catalogue of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era*), in: *Taishō* vol. 55, no. 2154, pp. 477–723.
- Leumann, Ernst 1908. “Über die einheimischen Sprachen von Ostturkestan im frühern Mittelalter”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 62, No. 1, 83–110.
- _____. 1920. *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch: I. Teil: Nebenstücke*. Leipzig: Im Kommissionsverlag von F.A. Brockhaus. repr. Liechtenstein, 1966.
- Maggi, Mauro 2009. “Khotanese Literature”, in R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch eds., *The literature of pre-Islamic Iran. Companion volume I to A history of Persian literature*, London: Tauris, 330–417.
- Martini, Giuliana 2013. “Bodhisattva Texts, Ideologies and Rituals in Khotan in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries”, in Matteo De Chiara, Mauro Maggi and Giuliana Martini eds., *Buddhism among the Iranian peoples of Central Asia (Multilingualism and History of Knowledge, Vol. 1)*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 11–67.
- Msa = *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, vol. I, ed. Sylvain Lévi, Paris: 1907.
- Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經 (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*), in: *Taishō* vol. 30, no. 1581, pp. 888–959.
- Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 (**Bodhisambhāraśāstra*), in: *Taishō* vol. 32, no. 1660, pp. 517–541.
- Silk, Jonathan 2007. “Bauddhavacana: Notes on Buddhist Vocabulary”, in *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, vol. X (2007), pp. 171–179.
- _____. 2008. “**Parikarṣati* Reconsidered”, in *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, vol. XI (2008), pp. 61–69.
- Sim-Williams, Ursula 2009. “The British Library Hoernle Collection, part 1”, in Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille, eds., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*. Volume II.1, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 1–24.
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor 2002. *Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library: a complete catalogue with texts and translations*, London: British Library, 2002.

- 2009/2012. “Khotan, an early center of Buddhism in Chinese Turkestan”, first print in J. R. McRea and J. Nattier, eds., *Collection of essays 1993: Buddhism across boundaries: Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions*. Sanchung, Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist and Culture Education, 1999, 265-344. repr. in *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 106-141.
- Taishō* = *Taishō Shinshū Daizō kyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. by Junjirō Takakusu and Kaikyoku Watanabe, 100 vols., Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934
- Yujiashi dilun* 瑜伽師地論 (*Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*), in: *Taishō* vol. 30, no. 1579, pp. 27–882.
- Za ahanjing* 雜阿含經 (*Samyukta-āgama*), in: *Taishō* vol. 2, no. 99, pp. 1–373.
- Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經 (*Ekottarika-āgama*), in: *Taishō* vol. 2, no. 125, pp. 549–830.